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Such is the obsession for
184 isolation in Tenganan that there is an official specially appointed
361 to sweep the village after the visits of strangers, to obliterate their
[609] footprints.

We became acquainted with I-Tanggú, a youngish man with
[115] fingernails four inches long, who was the *perbekel* of Tenganan, the representative of his village with the Dutch Government. We were surprised to find him quite sociable. Once we played host to him in Den Pasar and from then on we were often invited to visit Tenganan. Unlike the rest of the villages in Bali, there is hardly any vegetation around the Tenganan houses, which are all exactly alike and are arranged in rows on each side of stone-paved avenues. In the central place is the council house where the Elders meet, a long shed about ten feet wide by some seventy feet long, strongly built and apparently very old. Farther along are other buildings for public use, the purpose of some kept a secret. The most curious are the unique mill for grinding *kemiri*
[252] nuts to obtain oil, and the wooden Ferris-wheel, usually dis-
[788] mantled, in which the women revolve for hours in a strange rite.
342 The dwelling of I-Tanggú is just like all the others: a small gate reached by a flight of steps leads into a court in which are the sleeping-quarters, the kitchen, and a long house for relatives and
[775] for storage. There is also a small empty shrine where the spirits may rest when they visit their descendants.

184 The people of Tenganan are tall, slender, and aristocratic in a
[42] rather ghostly, decadent way, with light skins and refined man-
[302] ners. The majority of the men still wear their hair long. They are proud and look down even on the Hindu-Balinese nobility, who respect them and leave them alone. They live in a strange
423 communistic or, rather, patriarchal-communalistic system in which individual ownership of property is not recognized and in which even the plans and measurements of the houses are set and alike for everybody. The village of Tenganan owns communally enormous tracts of fertile and well-cultivated lands that fill every need of the village and make it one of the richest in the

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a noblewoman: the underskirt dragging on the ground in a train of silk and gold; the torso bound from the hips to the armpits; first is a strong *bulang*, a strip of cloth fifteen feet long, covered

Gelung Agung

by a *sabuk*, another strip of silk overlaid with gold leaf; with gold plugs through her ears, her hair dressed in a great crown of real and gold flowers, with the forehead reshaped with paint and decorated with rows of flower petals, two small disks of gold pasted to the temples; walking with poise in a procession with other girls dressed like herself, in a display of style, beauty, and

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292 dignity. The costumes for dramatic performances are as spec-
301 tacular as any in our ballets; diadems of fresh flowers and helmets of gold set with coloured stones, the body wrapped from head to

● [302]

Pusung Gondjer

foot in bright-coloured silks to which bold designs in glittering goldleaf are applied by a special process in truly theatrical style.

A Balinese woman is seldom without flowers in her hair, and
30 during festivals one sees a bewildering variety of head-dresses.
302 They are then well aware of their beauty and take special pains with the arrangement of the hair, fixed ingeniously without pins

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and without the help of a mirror. The hair is combed back with a fan-shaped comb, the end rolled into a bundle (pusung) that protrudes to the left and is held in place tucked under strands of the woman's own hair. Unmarried girls leave a loose lock (*gondjer*) that hangs down the back or over one shoulder. Ordinarily the flowers are simply caught between the hairs, sometimes suspended in the *gondjer* or over the forehead, dangling from a single invisible hair.

Each type of head-dress receives a special name, from the simple flower arrangement worn at lesser feasts to the *gelung agung*, the diadem worn by noble brides. The *gelung agung* is an enormous crown of fresh flowers; sprays of jasmine, *sandat*, and *bunga gadung*, mixed with flowers of beaten gold mounted on springs that quiver at the slightest motion of the head. A beautiful forehead that describes a high arch coming down at the temples is obtained by painting it with a mixture of soot and oil. Little acacia blossoms or yellow flower petals are carefully pasted in a row in the blackened area to emphasize the outline of the brow. They are called *trangana*, meaning a "constellation." Girls who have reached puberty cut two locks of hair, brought from the middle of the head, over the ears in two curls (*semí*), stiffened with wax to keep them in place.

Men do not wear any ornaments except flowers and perhaps a bracelet of *akar bahar*, a black sort of coral supposed to prevent rheumatism, but women love jewellery and it is extraordinary that outside of dancers or children the Balinese are one of the rare people in the world that do not wear necklaces. In ancient times men and women wore ear-rings, and ancient statues show that, like the Dyaks of Borneo, they distended their ear-lobes until they hung below the shoulders, weighted down by heavy gold ornaments. Today some men have pierced ears because when children they wore leaf-shaped ear-ornaments (*rumbing*) of gold set with precious stones.

Little girls distend the holes of their ear-lobes with rolls of dry leaf or with a nutmeg seed until the hole is large enough to

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515 qualities. There it is customary to leave a small offering for the
368 spirit of the spring before bathing. The most famous of these is
778 the sacred pool of Tirta Empul in Tampaksiring, one of the
[782] holiest temples of Bali, where a special compartment has been
[841] devised for menstruating women.

302 [826] The Balinese admire a smooth, clear skin the colour of gold, and pretty girls have a mortal dread of being sunburned, so they do not like to go unnecessarily into the sun. The skin is kept in condition by rubbing and massaging while bathing, afterwards anointing the body with coconut oil and *boreh*, a yellow paste that refreshes the skin when hot or gives it warmth after exposure to the rain. *Boreh* is made of mashed leaves, flowers, aromatic roots, cloves, nutmeg, and tumeric (*kunyit*) for colouring.

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In olden times men wore the hair long, but nowadays the younger generation cuts it short like Europeans. The women's hair should be long, thick, and glossy, heavily anointed with perfumed coconut oil in which flowers are macerated. The hair is kept in condition by washing it in concoctions of herbs.

When a Balinese has nothing to do he squats on the ground and pulls hairs from his face with two coins or with special tweezers, and women remove the hair under the armpits with porous volcanic stones. Some men wear moustaches, which are considered elegant, but only priests wear beards. It is a sign of distinction to wear the fingernails long, often four inches or more, showing that the wearer does not have to do manual work. Priests may wear the nails of both hands long, but the average well-to-do Balinese lets them grow only on the left hand. In Tenganan I have seen young girls wearing nail-protectors five inches long made of solid gold.

The teeth are ceremoniously filed at puberty to shorten them and make them even. Old-fashioned Balinese blacken them with a sort of lacquer that supposedly protects the teeth from the devastating effects of betel-nut. However, since betel-chewing is losing favour, young people keep their teeth white by polishing them with ashes, although in many cases the molars are blackened, and the front teeth left white. The custom of filing and blackening the teeth, which is widespread throughout Malaysia, has its roots in animistic ritual, to avoid having the long, white teeth of dogs. In Bali today the teeth are filed mainly for æsthetic reasons, since long teeth are ugly.

It is plain that the refined and sensitive Balinese make the most of their daily routine, leading a harmonious and exciting, although simple existence, making an art of the elemental necessities of daily life — dress, food, and shelter.

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843 pus, eggplant, and a kind of mango. But, as in Malaya and other parts of Indonesia, her husband may not cut his hair until after
[302] the child is born.

When the time approaches for childbirth (*medal, lekad*; i.e., "to come out") certain magic (*penyesáh*) is practised so that the child will be born easily. Particularly effective is a shoot of coconut palm naturally ingrown into a loop. This is soaked in water and held over the woman's head so that the water will drip into her mouth. It is recommended also to pass or stand under the cage of a dove that has a natural bald spot over the heart.

844 Sexual questions are simple and natural matters to the Bali-
[831] nese, and our friends discussed them freely when, in the evenings, they gathered on our front porch to talk. Once when the conversation was led onto the subject of childbirth the women described their own experiences eagerly while the men added details the women had overlooked. The most convincing authority was Rapag, a boy of fourteen who had witnessed the birth of his four sisters. They said that most women have their children easily, and as an example they told of a woman who lived next door who had had her child unexpectedly while she was alone in the groves. She carried the baby home and they claimed that two days later she was already selling in the market.

Frequently even the assistance of a midwife is dispensed with and only expert women relatives aid the woman. As a rule the husband should be present. There is no special place where the child should be born. When the time comes, the woman is placed half-seated on a new mat, supported from the back by a woman, while another helps her, through massage, to deliver the child. The umbilical cord (*udal, unsang*) is tied and cut with a sharp knife made of bamboo (iron may not be used). Then the child is washed, and there is a curious ruling that demands that the woman drink – or just taste – three times out of the water. The placenta, together with the umbilical cord, some blood

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people to have children like them was an affront to their superiority. Jane Belo points also to an endless variety of concepts relating to twins in Bali, differing from district to district and even from one village to the next — a typical attitude in regard to everything in Bali, with the general trend as described above. However, the birth of twins of the same sex (*kembar*) does not bring pollution to the village and passes as an ordinary happening, although again, as in everything else, there are exceptions to the rule.

THE LIFE OF CHILDREN

Forty-two days after birth, when the child is blessed by the priest, he is given anklets and bracelets of brass and silver in place of the black strings that he wore tied around his wrists since he was seven days old. His ears are pierced, and a thread is passed through each hole so that three months later he can wear little flower-shaped ear-rings of gold. Around his neck is tied a necklace composed of various amulets that will protect him and influence his growth: a silver tube containing a dried piece of the child's own umbilical cord, some coloured glass beads, a piece of black coral (*akar bahar*), an ancient coin, and a tiger's tooth or a piece of tiger bone. This is all the child wears until he is about seven years old, but little girls are given a skirt and a sash three or four years before. The repugnance of the Balinese for actions characteristic of animals causes them not to permit children to crawl on all fours, and before the child is three months old he may not even touch the earth and is carried everywhere.

Offerings are made when the child is three months old (*nelubulanin*) and again at his first anniversary (*otonan*) when the child is 210 days old, one Balinese year. Then he is dressed in rich brocades and is given gold bracelets, anklets, a necklace set with rubies and sapphires, and a gold disk with a ruby in it, which is pasted on the child's forehead. His hair is then cut (*ngutangin bok*), and his head is shaved clean except for a lock of hair on the forehead that is never cut; otherwise he would become ill.

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852 On this date the priest blesses the child again, while offerings are made to the family shrine, to the sun, and to the evil spirits.

The well-to-do make a big occasion of the first birthday and give a banquet with theatrical performances, but it is a rule for all to give a shadow-play as a part of the ceremonies. After the

●[302]

first anniversary less attention is paid to birthdays; the third year has a special significance and perhaps the mother will make some offerings in subsequent years, but grown people forget about them and soon lose track of their ages.

553 On his first birthday the child receives his magic name from the priest, who writes various propitious names, obtained through a divination, on pieces of palm-leaf which he burns. The name given to the child is that which can be made out most clearly from the charred remains, or the one that takes the longest time to burn. This is a secret name that no one ever hears and soon

551 even the father forgets it. A baby is simply called " the child of

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The custom of filing the teeth has a deep significance among primitive peoples, usually as a form of initiation ceremonies at puberty. Others tattoo or scar their bodies, and even Westerners, who are horrified at the absurd customs of savages, practise initiation tortures in the form of sabre duels, beatings, featherings, or simply breaking their noses at college football games.

The Balinese file their teeth when a boy or a girl comes of age; not in sharp points like some Africans, or down to the gums like the Sumatrans and other Indonesians; but they simply file off a small portion of the upper incisors and upper canines to produce an even line of short teeth, also wearing them down to smooth their outer surface. Undoubtedly the custom of filing the teeth (*mesangí, mepandés*) had its origin in initiation rites. As we have seen, the teeth are not only filed to make them beautiful, but also blackened, and it is possible that, like the custom of cutting the rice stalks at harvesting-time with a small blade carefully hidden in the palm of the hand, the filing and blackening of the teeth may in some way be connected with the fear of offending, or hurting, the rice soul. Today, as I have said, young people are giving up chewing betel-nut, and the custom of blackening the teeth is disappearing. It is mostly elderly people who display black caverns for mouths, oozing with blood-red betel juice.

The filing should be performed preferably at puberty, but the ceremony is expensive because of fees, guests, banquet, offerings and so forth, and usually only the well-to-do can afford it then. Although it is not longer regarded as essential, many people have their teeth filed later in life if they were not filed during youth. It is believed that a person may be denied entrance into the spirit world if his teeth are not filed, and often the teeth of a corpse are filed before cremation so that he will not look like a demon, a *raksasa*, the long canines of whom stick out through the cheeks like a wild boar's.

The filing takes place on an auspicious day after the person is blessed by a *pedanda*. The boy or girl may not go out of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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826 skin is considered beautiful even if other requirements are missing. The face should be round, the eyes bright and almond-shaped, but not too large, while the mouth must not be too small, with full arched lips and short even teeth. The already mentioned outline of the forehead is important. It must be high and narrow, in a deep arch coming down to the temples. Moles and beauty spots are admired, and it is believed that a woman who possesses a small mole in the area of the lips is destined to marry a Radja who will have to remain faithful to her. Perfume, either in the form of aromatic oil or as fresh flowers, is necessary to enhance one's attractiveness, and whenever there is a crowd the pungent smell of *tjempaka* and sandat blossoms, mixed with that of coconut oil, fills the air.

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The body should be small but well proportioned, the hips and waist narrow, and the breasts round and full; a woman should never be too fat nor too thin. Women are less particular about their men and the rules are not so well defined; vitality, strength, a well-proportioned body, and a smooth skin devoid of hair are the physical requirements of a man in a woman's eyes.

THE LOVE LIFE OF THE BALINESE

831 Romanticism only flourishes where traditional barriers for the free and natural relations between men and women are strongest. Consequently the practical and unrestrained Balinese in love does not idolize the woman he desires, but goes directly to the point. If he feels strongly attracted by a girl, he does not pretend a platonic interest and must culminate his desire by sleeping with her. A direct solicitation constitutes his declaration of love: "Do you want? (*Kayun? Nyak?*)." The only words in Balinese for "love," *kayun, suka, deman, nyak*, all mean "desire," "to like," and "to want," while stronger terms like *lulut* and *tresna* have a certain illegal connotation, as in adultery (*mamitra*). Without a word in their vocabulary for the abstract idea of romantic love, the Balinese does not develop a morbid unhappiness when failing in love. A man who is refused by a girl may be

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diameter, pierce their prematurely distended ear-lobes. Their melancholy little faces are heavily powdered, and they wear a white dot (*priasan*), the mark of beauty in dancers, painted be-

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Legong Costume

tween the eyebrows, which are shaved and reshaped with black paint.

The rich costume of the two principal dancers, the *legongs*, consists of a wrapped skirt, a tight-sleeved vest, from which hangs a long, narrow apron, and yards of strong cloth cut in a narrow strip that binds their torsos mercilessly from the breast to the hips. This is in turn covered by another sash of gilt cloth. The

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tablished themselves at various places in Bali and founded the Brahmanic clans we find today, from the purer *Kamenúh*, to the *Keniten, Gelgel, Nuaba, Mas, Kayusunia, Andapan*, and so forth. 793

Pedandas should dedicate their entire life to meditation, the study of theology, and the practice of the ritual. During life they are supposed to be models of knowledge, purity of thought and of actions, but unfortunately this is not always the case and, as everywhere else, there are priests who take advantage of their position and by their mysterious hocus-pocus exploit the people. In Bali, however, this occurs on a considerably smaller scale than in countries dominated by an organized clergy. The Brahmanas jealously keep the inner knowledge of the official religion for themselves and the common people believe in them, but continue to regard them, like their princes, as foreigners aloof from the true life of Bali.

The Brahmanic priesthood is today divided into two great groups: the Siwaites (*siwa* or *siwa sidanta*), and the so-called Buddhists (*bodda*); not true followers of Siwa and of the Buddha, but simply sectarian divisions of the same religion (see page 318). The *pedanda siwa* wears his hair long, tied in a knot on the top of his head, while the *pedanda bodda* has his cut shoulder-length; otherwise their office and ritual are the same with only small differences in detail, in phraseology, and in the texts used by each. To the average Balinese this division means so little that he will call a priest of either sect to officiate for him regardless of whether he is *siwa* or *bodda*, simply because of personal preference or family tradition or because the priest's house may be nearer. To him two priests of two sects are undoubtedly more effective than one, but this is an expensive luxury that only the princes can afford. The present Regent of Gianyar always engaged both a *pedanda siwa* and a *pedanda bodda*, who sat side by side. He went even further and had also a Satria priest, a *resí*, and a *sunguhu* to take care of the evil spirits, so that every sort of priest was represented. In Badung 793 795 [302]

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782 decorated with lacy garlands of pig's fat and stomach tissues (omentum) which can be seen at great festivals.

Ordinary offerings to the house and for temple feasts are made by any woman; but for special occasions an offering, to be effective, must conform to certain specifications based on the influences that rule the day: the calendar, the cardinal directions, numerology and so forth. Each day of the week has its colour and numerical value that dictate the flowers to be used and the number of units in the offering. These rules are often specified in the *adat*, the traditional village law, but they are better known to professional offering-makers, Brahmana women (*Idayú*), who are engaged for a fee to direct the making of them.

[783] Offerings are sharply divided into "unclean," evil-spirit offerings (*metjaru, banten sor, pasegan*) and "pure" (*sukla*) offerings for the gods.

793 4. *The Sunguhu.* Sunguhus are low-caste priests whose main office is
564 the dedication of devil offerings in ceremonies of purification. Although
[783] Sudras, the sunguhu are a proud caste in themselves and claim descent from Sanghyang Tunggal and from Sanghyang Meleng, the Sun. The paraphernalia of the sunguhu, although generally poor and in deplorable condition, and their ritual are practically identical with those of the high Brahmanic priests; but accessories peculiar to sunguhus are the conch-
[534] shell blown by an assistant during his prayers, and the double drum
[171] similar to that of the Tibetan lamas, which in Tibet are made of two sections of the top of human skulls.

Like the high priests, they wear their hair long and in a knot, worn
302 low at the back of the neck and not on top like the pedandas, because
773 the worthy I Tusan, patron saint of blacksmiths and the greatest iron-
793 worker of ancient Gelgel, was unjustly exiled by a pedanda, who in time repented and, troubled in his conscience, tried to restore I Tusan, going into the forest in search of him. The blacksmith agreed to return only on condition that the pedanda carry him on his back. He had to comply and all the way the blacksmith hung on to the priest's topknot, pulling it down his neck (De Kat Angelino: *Mudras auf Bali*).

Dr. Goris (*Secten op Bali*) is of the opinion that they were the priests
114 of the *wesnawa* sect, now disappeared, the worshippers of Wisnu and Sri.
793 His attributes — the conch-shell, the turtle, the fiery wheel (*tjakra*) — are all Visnuite symbols. Furthermore, his spoken formulas, like those of the high priests, are in Sanskrit. He is in charge of the offerings of the Underworld, in contrast to pedandas, who dedicate the offerings to the Sun and Sky.

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Gebrag, a famous legong dancer

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A proud grandfather

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The loving sister

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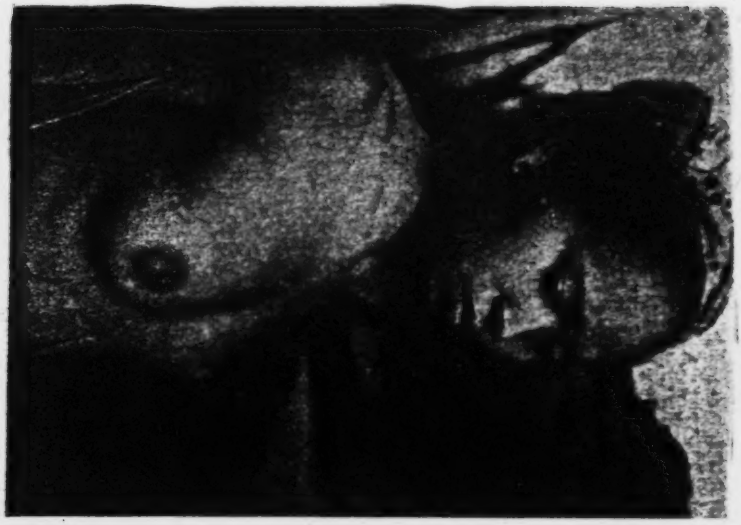

Mudak

Tjiblun

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Ayu and Tjamplong in modern dress

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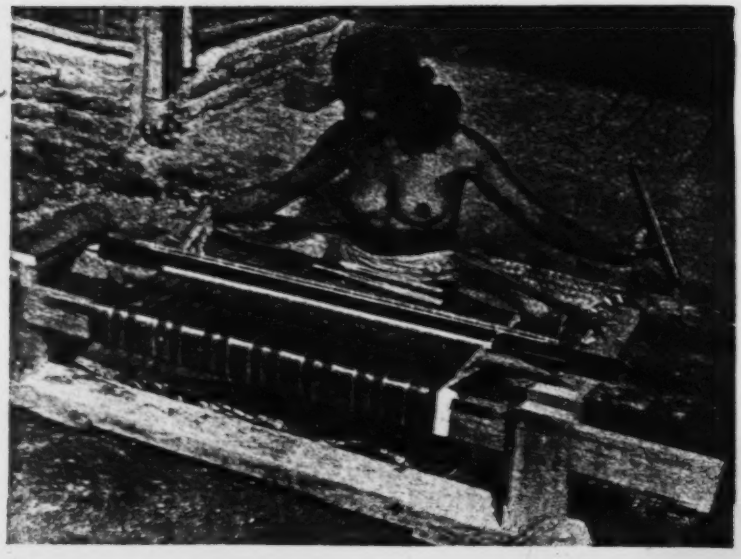

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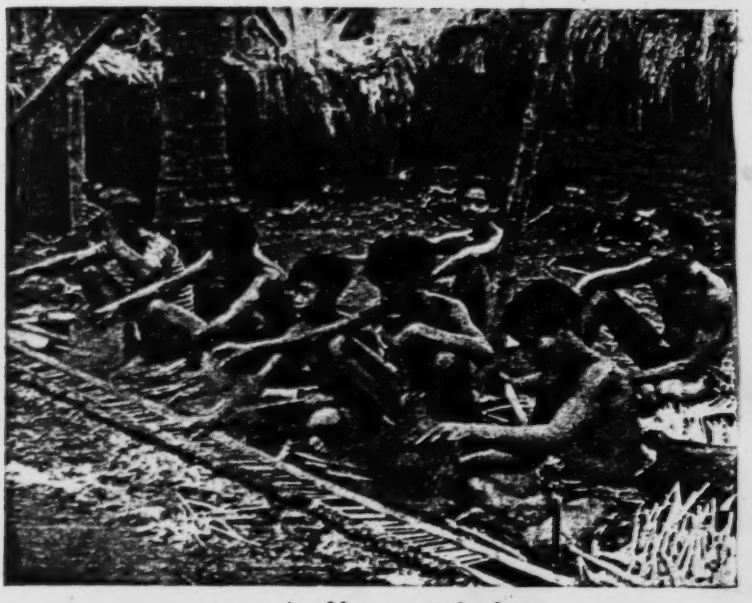

ABOVE: A noblewoman at her loom

BELOW: For banquets men prepare quantities of saté, turtle meat en *brochette*, broiled over a bed of hot coals

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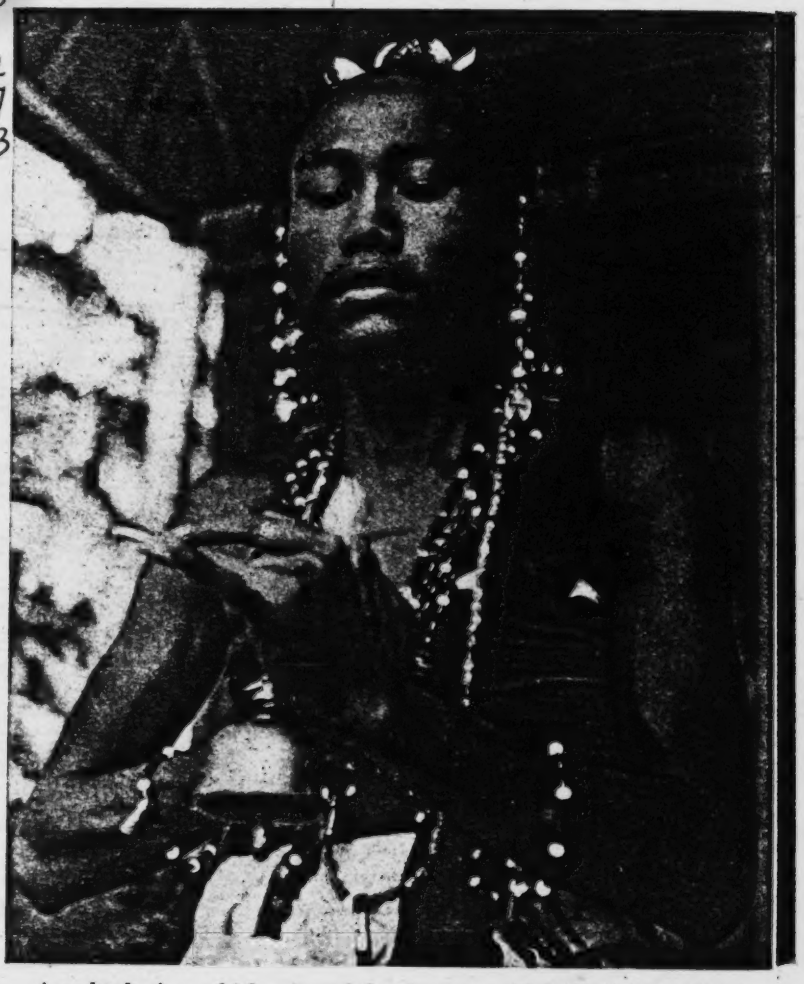

A *pedanda siwa*, a high priest of the *siwa* sect, with his bell in one hand and prayer flowers in the other, looking at the tip of his nose as a first step to induce trance

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

Groups of women

began to gather under the roofs of the other pavilions, to fashion from the sheaves of young palm leaves the many and varied containers that would be needed for the offerings. Hundreds of these are required, big ones, small ones, round, square, and triangular ones, each to be cut out, twisted into shape, and pinned together with bamboo slivers. The more dexterous of the women assumed the task of fashioning the decorative top-pieces (*sampian*) with many curls and whorls and flutings, and graceful fringes hanging all around, which would adorn the offerings.

When the rice-flour was ready, colored in vivid red and green, the specialists in *peregèmbal* cakes set to work molding it into distinctive shapes: the *paksi*, a bird with knobby buttons down the front of his jacket, the *doekoch ngaloe siboeh*, a "hermit holding a coconut full of water," the magical *waringin* tree. Other women were frying flat round cakes, and setting them to sun in the middle of the court. A special set of offerings was prepared at once to be presented in each of the ten shrines in the temple court and in the kitchen, "because the offerings were being made in the temple."

This giving of offerings for making offerings may be interpreted either as a polite gesture towards the gods, a gracious way of letting them know that the temple, their house, was being used for this purpose — or as a precautionary measure, to appease their appetites so that nothing should go amiss while the big offerings were being prepared. In each shrine was set an *adjoeman* (food) and a *tjanang*[1] (betel-chewing ingredients).

Meanwhile, the men who had come to work instead of their wives sat together splitting up bamboo to be used for offering frames, for skewers, needles for the pinning of the delicate palm-leaf fancy-work, or supports for the construction of special altars and stands on which the offerings would be set out.

Towards noon the hundred or so people departed, leaving the *sinoman* in charge. Again about three the *koel-koel* beat, recalling them to the temple. And the work went on, till the evening. That night a detachment of ten men was detailed to sleep in the temple, to guard it (*mekemit*).

[1] The *tjanang* is the slightest and the most frequently used offering, serving a multitude of purposes. It is a little tray made of palm-leaf, containing a flower, ingredients for betel-chewing in minuscule quantity, and a twist of palm-leaf called an "oil receptacle" (*wadah lengis*), a mere token of perfumed oil. Besides these it may contain tiny amounts or tokens of perfumed ointment and sandalwood water. Three specific types of *tjanang* may be called for:

1. *Tjanang genten*, contains *porosan* (roll of betel), *boenga* (flower), *wadah lengis* (oil receptacle).
2. *Tjanang lenga wangi*, or *tjanang boerat wangi*, contains *porosan*, *boenga*, *wadah lengis*, as above, *boeah mijik* (perfumed ointment), *lengis kodjo* (other perfumed oil), *jeh tjenana* (sandalwood water).
3. *Tjanang gantal*, contains *lekesan* (roll of areca nut, betel-leaf, lime, and tobacco), *boeah 5* (areca nuts, 5), *wadah lengis*.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

Bali OF7 Gorontalo OG4
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11
Savu OF15

G [460 cont.]
304 Minahasa — a little piece of wood with cloth wound around it is
846 fastened tightly against the forehead with bands. Every morning when the child is bathed, the piece of wood is taken off, but after the bath it is fastened on tightly again. This is done for 50 or 60 days.

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[304 This custom, also practiced formerly in Europe as is shown
174 by prehistoric skulls, must have existed everywhere in the archi-
846] pelago according to Dr. A. B. Meyer in his study, "Ueber künstlich
Br deformirte Schädel von Borneo und Mindanao [Concerning artifi-
[304] cially deformed skulls from Borneo and Mindanao], 1881; there are, however, no further reports of recent date on this subject.

I Ritual Haircutting. In the chapter "Nature Worship,"
302 mention was made of the special power that is ascribed to the
852 hair as the bearer of much "mana." It is therefore not surprising
778 that the child's first haircut is accompanied by a certain amount of ceremony, such as is reported by Wilken (1) for the Minangkabau,

1. Dr. G. A. Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiens [Concerning the Hair Offering and Some Other Mourning Customs among the Peoples of Indonesia]" (Revue Coloniale Internationale, IV, pp. 351 f.), and Wilken, Verspreide Geschriften [Miscellaneous Writings], Vol. III, pp. 399-550.

MK where only in special cases [461] is it accompanied by great
T festivity, among the Makassarese and Buginese and in central
5 Celebes, where the first contact with the ground (see below) is
BL ● 302 the occasion for it, on Savu and Bali, where it is done at the
852 namegiving, and for many other tribes in the archipelago.

2: Wilken--55 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893
Bali OF7
Celebes OG1

OB1 Indonesia OB1
New Guinea OJ1
Mentawi OD9
Gorontolo OG4
Java OE1
Sumatra OD1

I Mt G NG 301

[35 cont.]

Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.- L.- en Vk., Vol. XXVI, p. 83.

Minahasa (2), and the Papuans of New Guinea (3). In many

2. Riedel, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.- L.- en Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 493.

3. Sal. Muller, Reizen en Onderzoekingen, Vol. I, pp. 69, 70, 71.

cases these belts are decorated with ornaments made of metal, shell, coconut, seeds, etc. attached to them.

g. Hair Ornaments

NG I 301 302

We would be able to leave the subject of body adornment were it not that the hair, a natural ornament, is nearly always adorned and thus requires separate treatment. Most of the tribes wear only a few ornaments in the hair at least for daily life. Only the Papuans are an exception. Their hair is their pride and is always given the utmost care and ornamented, be it simply with a comb. This is generally made out of bamboo or out of a little wooden board as long as a span and about as wide as two fingers. It sometimes has three or four teeth, like a fork, and it tapers to a point at the top, the upper end of which is decorated with carving. Little pieces of cotton or strips of leaves are usually fastened to this pointed upper end, after which the comb is stuck into the hair vertically or aslant (4).

C B S U NG I 301 302

4. Nieuw Guinea in 1858, p. XI, Pl. VV, Fig. 6.

There is also the custom, general among the Malayan tribes as well as among the Papuan peoples, of wearing flowers in the hair. The well-known melatie and the tjampaka (yellowish-white flowers with a very pleasant odor) are used

Mentawi OD9
Timor OF20
Borneo OC1

OB1 Indonesia OB1
New Guinea OJ1
Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
Bali OF7
Celebes OG1

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[35 cont.] for this purpose, especially by the women, on Java, Sumatra, Bali, Celebes, etc. (5). The men, too, often wear flowers.

5. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 607. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, p. 14. Bloemen Waanders, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.- L.- en Vk., Vol. VIII, p. 252. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wdb., see ru.

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Where the hair is covered with a headcloth, the flowers are stuck in the cloth; where the hair is left uncovered, for example, among the Mentawei Islanders and Papuans, [36] they are stuck in the hair itself. These two tribes, however, in place of the two flowers named above, usually use the beautiful red, but scentless flowers of the Hibiscus rosa sinensis, the kembang sepatoe or bunga radja (1).

1. Van Rosenberg, der Malayische Archipel, p. 191. Van Rosenberg, Reizen naar de Geelvinkbaai, p. 123.

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We have now dealt with the principal ornaments and shall conclude with a few general observations. As we have seen, most of the ornaments are worn by both men and women. Among the most uncivilized peoples the men rather than the women are the most adorned, as has been definitely established for the Papuans, the Timorese, the Dajak, etc. (2). On the

2. Sal. Muller, op. cit., p. 70. Natuurk. Tijdschr. v. Nederl. Indië, Vol. XXXVI, p. 296-297. Gramberg, op. cit., p. 201.

other hand, we see that among the more highly developed peoples the women have retained ornaments that are no longer

Savu	OF15	Javanese	OE5	Halmahera	OH12
Timor	OF20	Sermata	OF16	Moluccas	OH1
Roti	OF14	Babar	OF9	Sula	OH12
Bali	OF7	Leti	OF11	Ambon	OH4
Aru	OH5	Kisar	OF10	Ceram	OH9
		Wetar	OF21	Tanimbar	OF19

SI H MD Am Cr Tn Ar Sr Bb Lt KS Wt 852 302

[224 cont.] In the Moluccas, too, the ceremonious haircutting is generally widespread. Among the Alfoer of Halmahera it is done when the child starts to walk. It is also found, according to Mr. Riedel, on the islands of the Sula group, on Ambon, Ceram, Ceramlaut, the Aru, Luang Sermata, Babar, and Leti Islands, on Kisar and Wetar; the age at which this ceremony is performed varies greatly on the islands. On Wetar, for example, it is five or six days after birth; on Luang Sermata it takes place, along with the name-giving, after two to five days; on Kisar and Leti when the child is a month old; on the Sula Islands when it has reached its seventh year, on Babar not until it can sit up alone. On Ambon, the father cuts a lock of the child's hair when it eats sago pap for the first time, whereas on Ceramlaut the cutting of one's hair is a duty that everyone must perform before his death, either as a child or [225] at a riper age. On all the islands it is always accompanied by festivities.

TM Sv Rt Bl 852 302

The same can be said about the Lesser Sunda Islands. Among the Savunese it is done when the child starts crawling, at the same time as the name-giving. Among the Timorese and the people of Roti, however, this ceremony is more elaborate. On Roti it generally takes place when the child is a month old and is celebrated with the slaughtering of a pig or goat, with which a feast is held. The hair is then hung in a palm tree. The Timorese usually cut their children's hair in the third month. An uncle performs this operation, generally with a bamboo knife, after which he blows away the hair from his hand. The Balinese choose the same age for doing this and call the ceremony ngangg sasihin. On this occasion the child is also sprinkled with holy water and given a name.

Jv 852 302

This custom also exists among the Javanese. The boys usually retain a single lock at the top of the head, kuntjir; the girls keep a lock on the forehead, kuntjung, which is cut off later.

NG 302 [253 cont.]

nose, which is then connected to another stripe drawn over the forehead. On festive occasions, however, the whole face is painted red and over this some [254] white or black stripes are drawn. Sometimes, half is painted red and the other half black. The back, too, is decorated with parallel lines running down from the neck to the waist (1). This also applies to other parts of New

1. Maclay, Natuurk. Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 294-295.

Guinea, for instance, along the north coast and on the southwest coast. It seems to be unknown only among the Papuans of Geelvink Bay. On the southwest coast the dye is red, black, or yellowish clay (2), and on the northwest coast, it is the pretty

2. S. Muller, Reizen en Onderzoekingen, Vol. I, pp. 58 and 69.

red marrow fat of the bones of the crowned pigeon (Goura coronata) (3).

3. A.B.Meyer, op. cit., p. 18.

B I 302 We find skin-painting not only among the least developed peoples, but also among the more civilized tribes. It is a custom among the Balinese, for example, to smear the skin in spots with boreh, a kind of yellow ointment, because spotted skin is particularly popular (4). Smearing oneself with boreh is likewise popular

4. Catalogus der Int. Kol. en Uitv. h. Tentoonstelling Amsterdam 1883, Group II, 9th class, No. 146.

J [52 7] 302 among the Javanese on festive and ceremonial occasions, when, as we know, the upper part of the body remains bare. This